

# Peace News

The International Pacifist Weekly

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## Unarmed defence BISHOP'S INTERVENTION IN LORD'S DEBATE

THE House of Lords were debating the Air Estimates last Wednesday afternoon when the Bishop of Manchester dramatically entered the discussion.

When the Bishop had finished, Earl Swinton declared that "he had gone to the whole fundamentals of defence, and not only on the strategic side but also on the moral side."

The Earl, a former Secretary of State for Air, stated that "The right reverend Prelate has indeed not only challenged the whole fundamental position, which not only this Government but every Government which preceded it has taken . . . but has asserted that it is wrong."

Bishops rarely take part in defence debates, which are regarded as the preserve of former Secretaries of War, Air Secretaries, and Service Chiefs.

### CRYSTAL-GAZING

Before the Bishop spoke, Lord Balfour of Inchrye (war-time Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Air) had stated that Service Ministers and their advisors faced difficult problems because "old-fashioned, orderly planning has been replaced by a form of staff crystal-gazing into an unknown future."

Lord Tedder (Marshal of the Royal Air Force and former Chief of the Air Staff) had described the Estimates as "a very gallant attempt to make the best of a difficult job."

Female enlistments would go up if they would "feminise" the women's services a little more."

Viscount de L'Isle (former Secretary of State for Air) praised "the deterrent" as "an influence for peace" and said "if I was able to contribute anything towards the development of that force, I am not ashamed, indeed, I am proud to have done so."

### BISHOP SPEAKS

Lord Waleran (ex-Wing-Commander of the RAF) was concerned about redundancy and recruiting. He suggested employing "young girls . . . to work at units in the neighbourhood of their homes," where they would live.

"I think that no Government would refuse if we were attacked to use "ultimate weapons."

Lord St. Oswald (ex-Coldstream Guards and RAF) spoke about helicopters about which he felt "very strongly." He didn't see how the country could afford a vast Transport Command.

Then at 4.19 p.m. the Lord Bishop of Manchester rose.

"My Lords," he began, "the intervention of a Bishop in a debate such as this perhaps requires some apology or, at any rate, preface. I can only say that the future of the Royal Air Force, which is one of the matters dealt with in this debate, is something which quite rightly concerns every citizen."

He said he had been "made to feel uneasy—I would almost say profoundly uneasy" during the debate and a similar one on the

● ON PAGE EIGHT

EIRE: by Fenner Brockway, MP—p.5.

# PACIFISTS TO ENTER NEVADA A-TEST AREA

## "No longer content with verbal protests"

### TO GATHER IN LAS VEGAS

From Dr. Homer Jack

A GROUP of American pacifists on August 3-6 are descending upon the Nevada testing grounds of the United States Atomic Energy Commission in a Gandhian protest against continued American tests.

In a manifesto, a group of seventy Americans asserted: "We can no longer be content with verbal and conventional

### WAR RESISTERS MEET IN LONDON

## "Hostility to pacifism weakening"—Vera Brittain

"BECAUSE of the sheer necessity of pacifism, war resisters are gradually coming into their own," Vera Brittain, a Peace Pledge Union Sponsor and former Chairman, told representatives of the world's war resisters in London on Monday.

Opening the triennial conference of the War Resisters' International at Roehampton, she told the enthusiastic delegates: "People are beginning to realise that, in a world transformed by A and H-bombs, these deadly weapons are inherent in all the earlier ones.

"This justifies the stand made by pacifists against war ever since 1914."

The A-bomb and the H-bomb "lay in the logic of history" as soon as the different countries, including the Allies, began to practise the policy of genocide as carried out by obliteration bombing.

### S. African Church's call to resist unjust laws

BISHOPS of the Anglican Church in South Africa have urged the clergy and members of the Church to be disobedient to the "church clause" of the Native Laws Amendment Act, which aims at forbidding Africans attending white churches.

Last Sunday, in every parish church in South Africa, the people were told that the Anglican Church cannot in loyalty to God obey secular authority if that authority orders it directly or indirectly to withhold ministrations from Africans in any place of worship.

It is intended to establish a fund for the support of anyone penalised.

### 600 Methodists hear disarmament call

SOME 600 people attended a rally at Nottingham last Saturday organised by pacifists in the Methodist Church in connection with the annual Methodist Conference.

They heard Dr. Soper, President of the Methodist Peace Fellowship, call for Britain to set an example by adopting the pacifist policy of unilateral disarmament.

A full report of the meeting will appear in Peace News next week.

The National Council of the Labour Peace Fellowship, in a resolution welcoming the publication of the new pamphlet "Unarmed," and congratulating the working party which produced it says the document "should stimulate discussion on the issues of peace and disarmament" and urges members of the LPF to give it wide circulation within the Labour movement.

Future plans, including a conference in India in 1960 were also due for discussion.

Proceedings end with Michael Tippett speaking on "The Task Ahead."

A further report on the Conference will appear in Peace News.

protest against the great evil of nuclear tests. We feel a moral obligation to cast our whole lives against this evil. For some of us this will include civil disobedience against the authority of the State."

The statement also indicates that:

"We are against the production, testing, and use of nuclear weapons by any and all governments. We make no exceptions. We have no faith in policies of military containment and deterrence by mutual terror as a means of bringing peace to the world. We believe it is unrealistic to expect that fear of weapons will prevent the use of them."

This call to non-violent action against nuclear weapons was signed by such individuals as architect Albert Bigelow, Methodist clergyman Henry Hitt Crane, Catholic author Dorothy Day, writer Milton Mayer, A. J. Muste, John Nevin Sayre, and Fellowship of Reconciliation Secretary John Swomley.

### ACTION TEAM

According to the United States Atomic Energy Commission, "each test fired in Nevada is justified, before it is scheduled, as to national need for the data sought." Some 52 tests have already been made in Nevada since January 1951, several already in the present series. The AEC further declares that "conducting low-yield tests in Nevada, instead of in the distant Pacific, also has resulted in major savings in time, manpower, and money." A "fairly rough estimate" puts the cost of each Nevada test at more than one million pounds. Pacific tests, on the other hand, cost an estimated 35 million pounds—for two or three explosions.

The American pacifist group plans a direct action conference and project in Las Vegas, Nevada, beginning on August 3. The group will hear speeches by clergymen and scientists and discuss principles of non-violent resistance to further tests. Non-violent direct action projects will be considered and it is probable that leaflets will be distributed in the towns surrounding the test site. Also a group might conduct a prayer vigil at the gateway of the testing area.

A special pacifist action team is already being formed and may announce beforehand that it will attempt to penetrate the actual testing site prior to an announced test.

### 10,000 sign petition to Eisenhower

CAMBRIDGE, Mass., Wednesday. AMERICAN Quakers in New England delivered to President Eisenhower today more than 10,000 signatures on a petition urging the banning of nuclear bomb tests.

Nearly half of the signers are from New England, 30 per cent are from Massachusetts, and the rest from the other 42 states and the District of Columbia.

"Our petition campaign will continue," said Russell Johnson, Peace Education Secretary of the American Friends Service Committee and Peace News sales organiser, New England region.

"When we have reached about as many people as with our limited resources we can expect to reach, we shall send President Eisenhower the additional signatures we have then received."

In PEACE NEWS next week  
REG. MOSS, MP "If Britain Disarmed!"

DR. DONALD SOPER at Nottingham  
ETHEL MANNIN reviews "Conscience in Revolt"

FENNER BROCKWAY, SYBIL MORRISON

# THE GREAT TASK FACING GOMULKA

ONE year after the Poznan riots, the new liberal regime of Wladislaw Gomulka still struggles with the dilemma of building an anti-Stalinist economic and social system with an antiquated Stalinist apparatus.

The shambles inherited from ten years of Stalinism, against which the Poznan workers rebelled, are still dramatically visible.

What the old system did was to rob a whole nation of its personal, individual initiative. Instead of serving the State and society, that initiative was turned against it; the individual learned a thousand tricks for upsetting the rigid "plan" of the bureaucracy.

**Regaining that initiative to social ends is the great task confronting Gomulka and his associates. So far it is only hardly begun.**

The problem peeks at you from every nook and cranny of Polish life. The trams and autobuses are filled to capacity day and night, as nothing I've ever seen before—even the New York subway.

## Twin evils

The man who must hang onto the outside of these vehicles not only doesn't pay his fare, but if he is ever lucky enough to get inside and so forced to yield the equivalent of tuppence for the ride, he turns his ticket back to the conductor so that the latter can resell it and add to his paltry income.

Bribery and corruption are shocking. How much it drains from the national income is hard to tell, but certainly the national standard of living could be raised a number of notches if it were not for these twin evils.

The manager of a State shop, who earns perhaps £30 a month, supplements his income by selling choice merchandise to black marketeers. Or, as another twist to the same technique, he sells a saleslady job to a speculator for £150 to £600, and the latter two ply their illegal trade almost uninhibited.

## Perennial crisis

It became so bad a few weeks ago that black marketeers were buying wares from their own salesladies and actually selling them inside the State shops without bothering to leave the premises.

The Communists have always talked of the evils of overproduction in capitalist countries, but from what one sees of Stalinist remnants in Poland, theirs is a perennial crisis of underproduction.

## CO-OPERATIVE SHOPPING

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There is never enough consumer goods; and the consequence is a fantastic network of speculators and thieves.

The man who checks timber-cutting in the woods records production 20 per cent lower than the actual production. The rest finds its way onto the black, or grey, market. Recently a man bought up old locks from State enterprises at 5 shillings a-piece and then sold them to other state institutions for 35 shillings. Another schemer paid £1,200 in bribes to a number of officials to buy his second-hand one-ton lorries and record them as 4-ton lorries—naturally at the 4-ton price.

## Overcrowding

Nobody in Poland seems to be interested in the State plan—or to care what happens to State property. You will have to go a long way to see buildings deteriorating as shamefully as in this country. Maintenance of property is at an all-time low.

Living space is at a great premium, with the average city dweller squeezed into one room—without private kitchen or bath—together with his wife and perhaps one or two children. Every city I visited, including the newly-rebuilt Warsaw, is a growing slum. In one apartment after another I

They must wake at five in the morning, draw water from outside their rooms for the cooking, cook under terribly adverse circumstances with other housewives fighting for the stove, dress the youngsters and send them off to school or the creche, work an eight-hour shift six days a week, then before returning home stand in queues for an hour or two each day just to buy groceries.

Usually she buys not what she wants but what the store has. A leading Communist journalist complained to me that his wife buys pork in kilo or two-kilo quantities, because she is afraid the next day there will be no pork at all. One man told me he has not bought meat on the legal market for six years.

In a department store in Lodz 15 carpets are available for sale on the 10th or 11th of each month. A hundred people make a bee-line for the carpet department at opening time on those two days, and the lucky 15 buy whatever they can get. The others wait for next month.

In the days before October these daily difficulties were "supplemented" by the more horrendous ones of the UB—the secret police. Tens of thousands of men and women were arrested and held without trial for up to eight years. Many

## SIDNEY LENS

Associate Editor of *Liberation*, an active American Trade Union organiser, contributor to the *Christian Century* and *Harpers Magazine*, author of several books analysing revolutionary movements.

## reports from WARSAW

I saw 10 to 14 people sharing four rooms with one kitchen and one toilet between them.

**Such crowding is the direct result of Stalinist "planning"—and leads inevitably to slums.**

The Stalinists insisted on bringing hundreds of thousands of people to the cities, even though there was no room for them, in order to speed up "industrialization". No thought was given to a balanced development of the economy, to providing the amenities of life to its citizenry. No labour could be spared for "services" or maintenance, or quality-consumer goods.

The mineral water served in the best hotel in Warsaw has a filthy cap and is undrinkable. The waiter may keep you waiting from 20 minutes to an hour before you get your menu, let alone your first course.

**The poor working women of Poland—and almost every woman must work if the family is to have enough for the daily larder—are the worst victims of Stalinist "planning."**

were executed. Fear and tension were perennial.

This is the system that Gomulka inherited when he took power last October. Himself a victim of the UB, which kept him in jail for four years without trial, he dissolved this pernicious force, and above all its loathed department, which specialised in spying on the leaders of the Workers (Communist) Party itself, and which became in fact a government above the Government.

**There is no doubt about it: the people today have far more freedom than they have had in a long time. It is not full freedom by our Western standards, but for those who lived in constant fear of the policeman's knock, it is something approaching paradise.**

The police today can hold a man only three days without trial, and this can be extended unilaterally by the prosecutors up to 9 months. During this period the prisoner cannot consult with his lawyer or secure *habeas corpus*. Yet, poor though this is, it is a great improvement over the past.

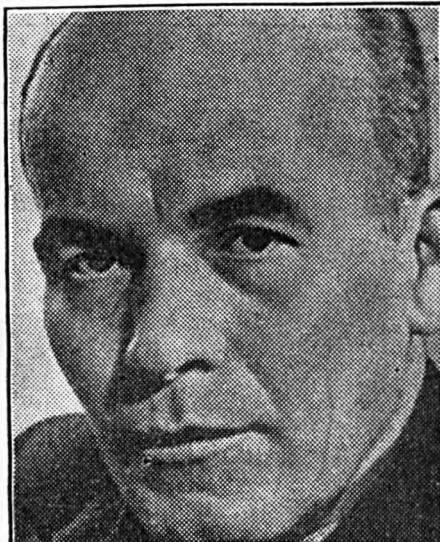
## Growing freedom

Above all, the atmosphere is better. People speak freely to each other. They speak freely to foreigners and in public places.

**The newspapers are still subject to censorship, and articles on strikes, articles critical of Russia, or articles on internal party disputes are always stricken. Twice I was in the offices of publications which had important pieces blue-pencilled by the censor.**

Yet, the newspapers are far more virile than in the past, and both critical and satirical on a wide range of subjects. One of the most bitter criticisms of Stalinist planning I have ever seen was in the Lodz magazine "Carousel" which carried a cartoon showing an undertaker arguing with the planning commission because it was one burial behind in "the plan".

**All of the new freedom is of course to the good. The Achilles Heel of the Gomulka regime so far however is its failure to significantly improve living standards.**



Wладислав Гомула

Peasants have benefitted considerably because those in the collective farms have been permitted to leave voluntarily, and because the hated buy-up is fast disappearing. Collectives were never extensive in Poland, but the buy-up was pernicious. Peasants had to deliver grain and other commodities to the State at fixed prices.

## Unemployment

This year buy-up quotas have been cut in half, and state prices often doubled. In a year or so the forced buy-up will end completely. Everyone admits that peasants are now better off than at any time in history—though the peasants themselves continue to complain about the shortage of consumer goods and the need to buy so many things on the grey market.

**But the situation with the workers is less heartening.**

Two million, including the miners, have received big wage increases since October. Two million more only small boosts; but three million nothing at all. In the meantime prices have gone up somewhat. Tens of thousands have been laid off from work, particularly office workers—and there is no unemployment compensation in Poland.

Eight months is certainly too short a period to expect miracles, but the worker is obviously chafing at the bit. He likes his new freedom but is distressed with the continuing economic penury. A worker at the Cigelski factory in Poznan, where the Poznan riots began, told me: "We're still getting a lot of talk, but not much improvement in our living standards."

## Back from exile

The State is certainly trying. The man in charge of the new economic regime, Bobrowski, came back from self-imposed exile only last year and is desperately working to build confidence and restore personal initiative. Workers' councils in a few hundred of the larger factories have been given limited powers over the plant directors to see if they can improve production. As a premium for such efforts the State offers a "thirteenth-month" pay and other concessions.

The plan itself is being decentralised, so that enterprises will soon be permitted a certain latitude in investments. Up to 25 per cent of the total spent will be by the enterprises themselves, instead of the central bureaucratic machinery.

Bobrowski and his associates have a religious passion for increasing consumer goods production and imports. The State has cut investments down to 18 per cent of the national product—at one time it ranged between 30 and 40 per cent. Private artisans, spurned and haunted in the Stalinist period, are being prodded to resume production. Private enterprise has actually doubled in the last eight months, but unfortunately most of this is in trade; the artisan is returning to his small shop only slowly.

Whether these and other economic efforts will bear fruit remains to be seen.

**The real problem is the Party. Liberalising efforts through society and in the economic sphere have terrified the old**

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## QUEST FOR FREEDOM

"HOW does the world of 1957 look on Freedom?" will be considered at a conference on "The Quest for Freedom", sponsored by the International Liaison Committee of Organisations for Peace from August 24 to 29, at Ruskin College, Oxford.

Lecturers will include Lord Altrincham, Editor of the National and English Review; J. H. Anderson, Regional Director, National Agricultural Advisory Service; Edward Atiyah, one-time Secretary of the Arab Office in London and now Press Advisor to the Iraq Embassy; Lucjan Blit, a journalist of Polish origin; G. D. H. Cole, Chichele Professor of Social and Political Theory, Oxford; Tibor Mende, author of "Conversations with Nehru"; Louis Arnaud Reid, Professor of the Philosophy of Education, London University, and, if in England at the time, James Cameron of the News Chronicle and Dr. K. Shelvankar of the Hindu.

They will examine what freedom means to:

- a European who has known both Nazism and Communism,
- an African—an Indian, who has known neither,
- the many millions of the hungry in Asia and the Middle East,
- you.

and will assess people's responsibility for this.

Church groups, trade union and political bodies, educational, social and other voluntary organisations interested in the theme of the conference are invited to send representatives. Full details can be obtained from The National Peace Council, 29 Gt. James St., London, W.C.1.

### CONSCIENCE MONEY

**P.P.U.**  
  
I WANT to share a concern with you this week. The position of the Peace Pledge Union's Headquarters Fund is getting really serious and unless you will all help to restore the balance we at the PPU shall not reach our aim this year. This time last year we had received nearly £550 toward our aim of £1150. This year with the same total to reach we have only received £327.

When I say "only" I do not minimise the value of the gifts we have received, many of which represent real sacrifice, all of which have our gratitude. But "only" in relation to what we must still raise and to the number of readers who have contributed compared with those who could and should. "Could" because there is not one reader who is unable to send something to H.Q. Fund.

"Should" because no one who regards the pacifist witness as vital will allow the cause to go short of money, and we do rely on H.Q. Fund to help to finance our PPU activities.

If, therefore, pacifism has made its appeal to your conscience and to your intellect and your emotions, I want to appeal through all three to your pockets. When others in their bewilderment or disillusionment are regarding pacifism as worth fresh consideration, when there is a new opportunity and a fresh responsibility on us all, it is time for those of us who do believe in pacifism to make possible a wider and more effective witness.

If we do not believe in our cause sufficiently to make some sacrifice for it why should we expect others to be prepared to accept its challenge?

It will take a little trouble to write a cheque, to buy a postal order and to send it to Dick Sheppard House but I hope that your conscience will not give you an easy moment until you have done so. You will enjoy your holiday all the more when you have helped the most important cause in the world.

STUART MORRIS,  
General Secretary.

I know that you are going to help us reach our aim for the year, £1,150. The only question is by how much you will increase our present total of £327.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

## BRITAIN'S ARMS BILL

### No answer from Morgan Phillips at the Socialist International

Dr. Francis Rona reports from Vienna

A PART from a controversy on the Algerian policy of France—strongly criticised by Mr. Bevan and apologetically "explained" by French Socialists—and some divergence of views on the unification of Germany, there was nearly complete agreement on all issues at the Conference of the Socialist International in Vienna.

From the pacifist point of view the definite stand on the immediate suspension of H-bomb tests is particularly important. Mr. Gaitskell impressed the delegates by his demand of cessation of tests, "irrespective of an agreement on banning nuclear weapons—although Socialists want this too".

Mr. Bevan's intervention in the Algerian debate led to a resolution authorising the General Council of the Socialist International to send a fact-finding Commission to Algeria. Mr. Bevan said that the Middle East should be made an area of disengagement, not collision. Socialist principles must be applied to all international problems and the cruelties and suppression in

### GOMULKA ● FROM PAGE TWO

bureaucrats who ensconced themselves in the Stalinist period.

Men who lived in comparative luxury, though usually incompetent, are now being forced to produce results—and they are justly worried that they can't.

Many old-timers, who left the Party or were pushed into the background, are returning to the fold. The intelligentsia and the youth are all "revisionists"—liberals and democrats.

But the machine is still in the hands of people who smell from the stench of Stalinism.

These men want to go back to harsher days, to directing everything from on top. Gomulka is in the unenviable position that he cannot exist without this Party machine—because of Russia on the one hand, and because of his own background on the other—nor can he fully effectuate his programme with it.

He is trying instead slowly to remould and change it. Two-thirds of the 15,000 Party full-time bureaucrats are now off the payroll. A number of old Social-Democrats have been put into key positions. A few of the worst characters, like Berman and Minc, have either been expelled or downgraded.

The point is, however, that the second echelon of bureaucrats is desperately afraid of the masses and its private initiative.

### Party control

Minister of Education Bienkowski put it perfectly when he asked recently: "What happens if five peasants decide to buy a machine . . . (and) as bad luck would have it, there is not a single Party member among the initiators or else Party members are in a minority? Party committees then raise the alarm because everything that happens outside the competence and control of the Party acquires, in the eyes of people used to alertness, the symptoms of some anti-revolutionary activities . . .

"To be afraid or not to be afraid—that is the question."

Bienkowski is undoubtedly correct. For ten years the Party has been hysterically afraid of the masses. It arrested people for just thinking and it reduced the old intelligentsia to quiet subservience.

The result is that it has no base amongst the people.

One must go a long way amongst the 1,300,000 Communists to find one who really believes. Hundreds of thousands joined only to further their career.

Gomulka cannot dissolve this Party, even if he wanted to, because the Russians would immediately intervene. On the other hand, with it he has difficulties in rebuilding the personal initiative that Stalinism had destroyed, and which the nation desperately needs.

There, as the bard said, is the rub.

July 19, 1957—PEACE NEWS—3

### University men lead Canada's Doukhobors

DOUKHOBORS, a religious group opposed to war, decided at their annual convention in Canada this month "to further the use of non-violent methods" and "to call a conference of peoples and organisations of pacifist convictions."

Two prominent young men of professional standing have been elected to head the Union of Doukhobors of Canada. William N. Papov of Vancouver, a civil engineer, and Peter S. Faminow, a young Vancouver lawyer. Their election has set a precedent in Doukhobor history; for the first time university trained men have entered the administrative role of Doukhobors.

"This shows that the Union of Doukhobors of Canada has reached that stage of maturity which lures the participants of this organisation to come from all walks of life" said a spokesman for the body.

Further, the Socialist International agreed with the Social-Democratic Party of Germany that "the German problem cannot be solved by Germany alone. The peaceful re-unification of Germany in freedom would be a substantial contribution to the lessening of international tension".

After the clarification of important issues of the world's political situation the Socialist International will be in a position to co-ordinate its efforts for reaching a better understanding and possibly agreement between the power blocs.

Mr. Bevan's intended journey to Moscow in the early autumn will provide an opportunity for obtaining some evidence of how much understanding can be expected on the part of Soviet leaders to attain some degree of "co-operative co-existence."

### SCHOOL GETS RACE RELATIONS LESSON FROM 16-YEAR-OLD KAREN

WHEN 16-year-old Karen Deslandes, a high school student at Berkeley, Michigan, USA, saw a revival of the film "Gentlemen's Agreement," she found it hard to believe. (It tells the story of a magazine writer—a Christian—who posed as a Jew for six months to see how people would react to him.)

"I thought it far-fetched that he became unwanted," Karen said, "I thought things like that just don't happen any more."

She decided to see for herself. Her father had recently given her a charm bracelet. When schoolmates asked what the attachments represented, Karen simply said they were "Jewish symbols".

#### "Assumed I was Jewish"

"I said nothing else," Karen explained, "I am a Protestant, but many of my friends immediately assumed I was Jewish. For six weeks I let them think so. It was a different world."

Girls who had long been friendly suddenly became cold, aloof. "My social life suffered. People just 'forgot' to invite me to affairs. There was no one to walk home with from school," she said. Her sister and family suffered, too.

After six weeks, Karen felt she had learned enough to confirm the truth of "Gentlemen's Agreement". She went to her teacher and told him the whole story. He spoke to the school officials who were, at first, astonished at, then sympathetic with Karen's plan. Together, they arranged a full school assembly, heralded only as a "BARP" meeting. None of the students knew what was in store until after Karen was introduced.

BARP, she explained, stood for Berkeley Attacks Religious Prejudice. Then she told them about her six weeks as a Jew. She told her schoolmates how they had reacted.

"Now I understand that prejudice is more than a word in the dictionary. I understand how it warps and twists; how it can result in the hideous burnings of Jews in Germany, the mob violence against Negroes, the man-against-man attitude of Communists."

When she finished her speech—a speech she later repeated before several groups—all of Karen's friends and many strangers gathered about her.

'Between our hugging and crying,' she said, "they asked me many questions. Most of all they asked: 'But I didn't do those horrible things, did I?' I couldn't answer those unhappy and ashamed people while so full of sorrow. All I could do was suggest that they search their own souls."

Adapted from the *B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League Bulletin* and distributed by the AFSC.

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## The Interloper

THE Bishop of Manchester probably ruined the afternoon for those of their lordships who had gathered in the House of Lords last week for the discussion of the Air Estimates.

All were enjoying a cosy competition in the display of military expertise, and the swopping of reminiscences, when he very tactlessly asked them to take a look at the basic moral assumption upon which their debate was founded, but which was—as always in these discussions—being carefully kept out of the way.

The debate had dealt with a variety of subjects: the need for a speedy settlement of the rate of compensation for redundant officers, the need for feminising the dress of the women's services, the time-lag that would occur in the making of a complete change-over to "push-button" warfare (Lord Tedder thought it was "optimistic" to think that this could be done in ten years), the limitations of transport, the need for the development of the helicopter—all interlarded with generous supplies of "gobbledegook".

The prize for the best translation of human issues into mere matters of technique clearly goes to Lord Balfour of Inchrye, who shared with Lord Tedder the view that for a long time to come, manned aircraft would hold their place against electronically controlled weapons.

"The electronic device," he pointed out, "is produced in small numbers by highly skilled labour in industrial factories." It also needs highly skilled maintenance. The human organism on the other hand needed little maintenance beyond food, drink and clothing, and "is mass produced by semi-skilled labour, and no industrial factories are needed."

## Awkward question

INTO the afternoon's entertainment came the Bishop with his comment on the "deterrent". This weapon, he remarked, even in its "clean" form, "devastates fifty square miles of country, and I know of no military target that is fifty miles in extent": and he went on to make the following comment:

"There is a deep human instinct which nerves a man to take human life to defend his hearth and home. Suppose he knows in advance that the action which he takes will not defend his hearth and home. Suppose it means, as some would contend, obliteration for both sides? What then? That is a question to which I have not heard an adequate answer given."

The Bishop, of course, did not get his clear answer. Lord Swinton hurried to quote the late Archbishop of York on the need for manufacturing the H-bomb as the best means of getting the Bishop of Manchester's uncomfortable contribution out of the way, and the matter did not appear again in the debate. Lord Mancroft, who wound up for the Government, felt that there was no need for him to deal with it.

It is evident, however, that the Bishop of Manchester, in contrast with the Archbishops, would find himself able to give guidance as to the Christian duty of a young man to whom it might be suggested that he should slaughter at a single stroke the whole population of a great city.

## Dispute in Ceylon

THE latest news from Ceylon holds greater hope for settlement in the dispute arising from the proposal to use Sinhalese as the only official language.

The proposal has led the Federal Party to propose regional autonomy for Tamil-speaking areas. Should no agreement be reached the Federal Party is threatening a campaign of civil disobedience to begin on August 2.

A correspondent, writing to us from Ceylon, draws attention to some little-known aspects of the trouble. The Sinhalese, who had contact with the ruling Governments in the past, departed from their own culture far more than did the Tamils. In the Sinhalese Christian community there are two marked social classes with very little in common. There are the wealthy English-educated Sinhalese of whom many cannot write or read their own Sinhalese language or speak it very well, and it is



these who are in the posts of management. On the other hand there are the Sinhalese-educated Christians who have no share in the administration. There is nothing like this division among the Tamils.

According to our correspondent, feeling on the language question is not directed against the Tamils but is as between the Sinhalese-educated Sinhalese and the English-educated.

The Bill to constitute Sinhalese the official language was intended as a means of clearing up this trouble, but misunderstanding arose because there were not sufficiently clear guarantees for the preservation of Tamil.

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## PEACE NEWS

July 19, 1957

## THE INTERNATIONAL

**IF MANKIND** ultimately builds an International which "unites the human race," it will be done only on the basis of the resolve made by those represented at a Conference held at Roehampton, London, this week: the triennial meeting of the War Resisters' International.

It was once hoped that the Socialist International would bring men together in the bonds of peace, but there is nothing left of this anticipation today. The Socialists who came together in the earlier meetings of the International had a sentiment of human brotherhood, but it was not the moral basis of their organisation. It was merely an amiable feeling that had to take second place to questions of economic interest and national aspirations.

The result was that the International came to pieces in World War I, and in the between-war years broke into two sections. After World War II there was little left even of the sentiment of brotherhood.



**IN RECENT YEARS** we have seen things that would have been inconceivable in the earlier meetings of the Socialist International.

We have had the British Labour Party joining with German Conservatives to over-ride the policy of the German Socialists with whom they were associated in the International.

We have the majority of the French Socialists advocating the kind of policy in regard to Suez and North Africa that could only get endorsement in Britain from the most war-minded among Conservatives. We are witnessing in fact the development of a "national" Socialism that has a great deal more in common with the German "National Socialism" of the Hitler period than it has with the ideas upon which men tried to build the Socialist International of earlier years.

An International of Socialists today offers no greater promise of human brotherhood than would an International of Conservative parties.



**THE WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL** is today unfortunately in a less favourable position for providing the embryo of the organisation that can unite the human race than it was in the between-war years. For today there are more totalitarian dictatorships and these will not admit the idea of human brotherhood for which the WRI stands.

We know there are men in Communist and Fascist countries who share the ideas of the War Resisters' International. Many of them have suffered severely for their convictions. They are not allowed to make their views known publicly, nor are they generally allowed to cross their national boundaries to take part in conferences which are not approved by their Governments.

There could not be in any such "approved" conference—any more than in the Socialist International of the present day Labour movement—the basis for an idea that "unites the human race." Human brotherhood must start from the unqualified renunciation of war.



**WHAT THE TRUE INTERNATIONALIST** says to the other human beings with whom he shares this planet is:

● "You are my brother. You may have been born in a different land. You may have different customs and different institutions. You may speak a different tongue. But you are my brother. I WILL NOT KILL YOU."

● "You may have been taught to think differently from me. You may have a different 'ideology'. You are none the less my brother. I WILL NOT KILL YOU."

● "Those who rule you—your king, your leader, your parliament—may persuade you that because of your different institutions, your different way of thinking, it is desirable that you shall be ready to kill me. Nevertheless, you are my brother. I WILL NOT KILL YOU."

This is the witness made by those who have met in Roehampton this week. It is the only true basis for an International for mankind.

another that must obviously follow. Old-age pensions provide an example.

Mr. Cousins, at the Conference of the Transport and General Workers, rightly rejected the view that the way to meet the threat of inflation was to enforce a standstill where wages are concerned while prices and profits continue to rise.

Mr. Thorneycroft is presumably reserving such proposals as he has in mind for presentation to Parliament. In the meantime he intimates that there is to be a control and limitation upon capital investment, and something is hoped for from the National Production Advisory Council in Industry's examination of the relay race between prices and wages.

One newspaper last week carried the suggestion that expenditure on armaments makes a particular contribution to the inflationary trend.

Apart from the obvious inflationary impulse that was given by the great and sudden armaments expansion in 1951 under Mr. Attlee's Government, we believe this view to rest on an economic fallacy. It is nevertheless true to say that drastic reductions in this field could provide the readiest means to the stemming of the inflationary tide.

The recent Defence White Paper shows that over the last five years "defence" has absorbed 10 per cent of the gross national product, and that seven per cent of the population are either in the armed services or supporting them.

## "Imported labour"

**T**HE kind of leadership that Mr. Cousins is providing for the Transport and General Workers' Union is of a forthright and healthy kind, but we do not like his union's attitude to "imported labour"; said to be "flooding out" British labour.

The trade unions need to examine the two-way standards applied to such matters.

Is there something inherently undesirable in Africans and West Indians working in British industry, while there is no objection to the importation of British labour into, say, the Rhodesian copper belt?

## The Editor's NOTEBOOK

The Aga Khan on Gandhi

**T**HAT the late Aga Khan, regarded by many as merely an elderly "playboy", was capable of serious thought on serious subjects, was made evident by a letter he sent to The Times on Feb. 5, 1948, recalling a conversation with Gandhi two years earlier.

Gandhi had remarked that his ideal was the same as that of Marx, that the State should "wither away". It was not, however, Marx's doctrines that would achieve this end. "On the contrary, the principles of non-violence and obedience to conscience once practised would inevitably make the State wither away."

In giving an account of the rest of the conversation, the Aga Khan remarked: "He said that a society's civilisation should not be judged by its powers over the forces of nature, nor by the power of its literature and art, but by the gentleness and kindness of its members towards all living beings. He reminded me of Kropotkin's theories that primitive men hated bloodshed and cruelty and that if this were proved exact then there had been a growth of the power of evil. He also remarked that the ancient South American custom of human sacrifice, with the proud consent of the victim, was less degrading than mass murder by conscript armies maddened by a scientific propaganda of hate and lies."

## People

Reginald Reynolds flew to Tokio on July 9. He will attend the Third World Conference Against A. and H-bombs and report to the National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapon Tests.

The Rt. Rev. Dr. George MacLeod will conduct the BBC's evening service, broadcast from Iona Abbey, on July 21 and 28.

Richard Brayshaw, Headmaster-elect of the Quaker school at Sidcot, Somerset, will broadcast the "Lift Up Your Hearts" talks next week on the BBC.

Michael Randle (who journeyed to the Hungarian border last Christmas) has won second prize in a Rationalist Press Association Essay Contest, writing "The Case Against Atomic Warfare."

# EIRE: THE WAY TO RECONCILIATION

*Make a place for her  
in the Commonwealth  
of Liberated Nations*

by

FENNER BROCKWAY  
M.P.

A PROMINENT cartoonist has made a bitter comment on Mr. De Valera's internment of members of the Irish Republican Army. The Prime Minister of Eire is shown addressing prisoners behind the barbed wire fencing of a detention camp.

"I hope you appreciate," he says, "that I'm giving you all the same start in life as I had."

I was a prisoner in Lincoln gaol when De Valera escaped from British detention in 1918. We have remained friends ever since. Nevertheless, I deplore internment without trial in Eire just as I have deplored it in Kenya, Cyprus or Singapore. It is a dangerous denial of personal liberty.

But De Valera's action has another significance, a profound significance. He has risked the unity of Southern Ireland—Eire—to repudiate in the most challenging way the idea that the partition of Ireland should be ended by force. If he rides the storm, a chapter of Irish history will be closed. What will the new chapter be?

## Heroic record

Among all the peoples who have fought British Imperialism, the Irish have the most heroic record. They have suffered most; they have suffered longest. From the days of the Cromwellian terror in the seventeenth century to the Black and Tan terror of the 1920's, Ireland has been the victim of the cruellest English domination and exploitation.

Irish resistance through the centuries to armies of occupation, to the ruthless seizure of the land, to imprisonments and executions has been an inspiration to every people who have struggled for freedom.

Thirty years ago I heard Gandhi speak in a tone almost of reverence of the indomitable spirit of the Irish people. He wished from the depth of his being that the resistance had shaped itself in non-violent discipline, but he regarded with wonder its unbreakable persistence. Amidst all the violence, he paid tribute to the influence of Arthur Griffiths, the architect of "non-co-operation with the English in Ireland", in his own preparation of India's plan for non-co-operation.

Whenever one met in those days the young men who were to become the leaders of freedom in Asia and Africa, they spontaneously expressed their gratitude to the Irish people. Ireland's story was everywhere regarded as an epic in the history of the world-wide revolution towards national liberation.

But something has gone wrong in Ireland. Eire became an independent Republic in the 'twenties. Disillusionment followed. Frustration remains.

## Poverty

The disillusionment and frustration have their roots in two facts. The first is the fatal partition of Ireland. The second is the continuing poverty of the people.

The partition was a disaster. It may have been all that the Irish leaders could have got from Mr. Lloyd George, Britain's Prime Minister at the time, but it was never a solution; it cannot be a solution. Ireland is historically and geographically one. The settler population from England and Scotland in the North cannot permanently destroy this deep and essential unity.

Over generations the settlers have themselves become Irish, differing in religion, clinging to their English associations, loyal to the Crown; nevertheless Irish. And outside the circle of Belfast influence is a large population in the Northern Counties who are Irish in origin and who passionately feel identity with their fellow countrymen of the South. So long as partition persists, frustration will continue. The national life of Ireland will remain poisoned.

Disillusionment has also come from the disappointment of no relief to bitter poverty. Whilst Britain governed Ireland, the Irish people explained their destitution as the consequence of alien exploitation. The

peasants were evicted from their land. The conquerors lived in a different world of comfort, as they lived in India for a hundred years, as they have lived more recently in Africa. The Irish people saw their poverty as tribute paid to the Occupation.

But, the Republic established, the poverty remained. It deepened. Today every Irishman is a little humiliated by the fact that thousands of the younger generation of Eire migrate to England for long periods to gain a livelihood.

There is a deeper frustration. Ireland, which was the pioneer of freedom, has lost its place in human advance. The very nations which learned the meaning of liberty from Ireland have passed it. India is poor, but it is alive with construction. Ghana is dynamic. Nigeria and the Caribbean are alight with purpose. Burma, Ceylon, the Sudan, Tunisia, Morocco, are confident in their political freedom. The stream of progress sweeps on, leaving Ireland on one side. It is in a backwash.

There are Irishmen who see and feel this. The Irish spirit, undefeated through the centuries, will not allow Ireland to become a forgotten country. They are determined to bring Ireland back into the creative life of the world. They are looking at Ireland's problems with a new, adventurous and realistic mind.

## Isolation

They see that the first need is to end Eire's isolation. Independence is a grand thing, but no nation is self-sufficient. It must function within a wider political and economic pattern if it is to grow and serve and make its contribution to the human family. How can Eire's isolation be ended?

First, a way must be found of uniting Ireland. Eire will not live spiritually whilst it is parted from the Irish of the North. It will not live economically whilst it is parted from industrial Belfast.

Second, a way must be found, too, of crossing the narrow Irish Channel, psychologically and economically. There is a new England, an England which is surrendering its old form of Imperialism, an England which has begun to recognise the freedoms of Asian and African peoples. The story is not complete, as Cyprus, Kenya and Central Africa remind us; but the new way wins. A changed relationship between Ireland and England would dramatically speed it.

Third, a way must be found of linking Eire with the main stream of liberation which has brought freedom to the other countries which have been the victims of English Imperialism. Except for Burma, they are in the Commonwealth. When Eire became a Republic, the Commonwealth was anathema, but there are Irishmen who now realise the revolution which has taken place. It is no longer the British Commonwealth. India, Ceylon, Ghana belong. Soon Malaya, Nigeria, the Caribbean, will belong. The liberated nations will be the majority.

Ireland would gain a new status in the world by association with these liberated nations. It would come back to the stream of life which is moulding the future.

Can these three aims be realised, the reunion of Ireland, a co-operative relationship with England, membership of the inter-racial Commonwealth? The idea has been discussed at high levels for some years, but on both the Irish and English sides psychological and political factors have made its realisation impossible.

Now the situation is changing. Cardinal D'Alton gave the lead by bringing the proposal into the open: the Federation of Northern and Southern Ireland and their united membership of the Commonwealth.

Irish opinion, even opinion which would not have considered such a solution a few years ago, is turning towards it.

The Irish people themselves must decide. Forward-looking minds among them are realising that this is the opportunity to recreate Ireland's greatness as a formative nation in the world. Many realise that this is the opportunity to begin to lift its people from poverty by economic integration of North and South and by economic planning with Britain and in the Commonwealth.

But the people of the North, of Britain and of the Commonwealth also must speak. Will voices come from the North? Will our leaders in Britain speak the word of reconciliation? Will India and Ghana speak the word of welcome?

**HEIN VAN WIJK** is one of the Dutch delegates to the Triennial Conference of the War Resisters' International being held this week at the Froebel Institute, Roehampton, London.

He told a Peace News reporter that he welcomed this type of conference which is aimed at helping the various sections to meet practical problems of making an impact in what are often hostile environments.

★  
Pacifist work, he felt, "must be based on facts," and it was good that the conference would have the subjects "introduced by people who are in the field." He believed in "talking facts."

★  
Looking at the Conference in advance, it appeared to him that it promised to be "a much better conference than I can remember."

**HEIN VAN WIJK, interviewed by a  
Peace News reporter, tells**

## HOW HOLLAND TREATS HER CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS

IN the Netherlands, more young men are registering as objectors to military service and the proportion who win their cases is going up.

The lawyer who has handled all the court cases of conscientious objectors (except Jehovah's Witnesses) in the Netherlands since the war sat across from me behind his desk at his office in Haarlem recently. There have been 350 of these cases.

In addition to this heavy load of work, J. Hein van Wijk is Chairman of Anva, the Dutch section of the War Resisters' International, and edits its monthly paper "Vredesactie".

Mr. Van Wijk, who speaks his views bluntly and often sharply, carries his readiness to state his feelings frankly into his court cases to defend COs.

"If I am dealing with the case of a principled man, I say so."

"Most are not principled men," he continued. In such cases he makes this known to the court, while at the same time seeking to deal with the men's problems in the best possible manner—such as helping them get exemption on other grounds than conscience, or other help beyond that demanded from his professional responsibilities.

## MASS DESERTION

During the Indonesian War when there were perhaps 5,000 to 6,000 desertions—"no one will ever know how many"—Mr. Van Wijk helped with professional assistance "in principled cases." "It was the first time since 1813 (when conscription was introduced) that there was anything like mass desertion," he said.

As examples of his work, he told me about the provisions for conscientious objectors in the Netherlands, and of individual cases with which he had recently dealt.

The present system for dealing with conscientious objectors has developed in the ten years since the war.

Under the 1923 law that recognised conscientious objection, a young man can apply for exemption either from combatant duties or from all military service. (In the latter case he has to do some civilian service for a year longer than the call-up period.) He then argues his case, without legal or other aid, before an advisory committee against whose decision there is no appeal.

Before 1940 the number of applicants each year was between 40 and 60, and two-thirds of them were recognised as genuine. After the war the numbers ran into hundreds, and the percentage of successful applications was still about 60. In the last year or two it has gone up to 80, and many of those not recognised have been declared medically unfit.

An unsuccessful applicant who fails to report for duty is court-martialled and could get up to eight years' imprisonment.

through in practice the maximum has always been three years.

After the war the courts were dealing with objectors more or less automatically according to the term of military service due from them. Then they began to differentiate. Only those whose physical fitness was confirmed got three years; those who, on re-examination, were deemed unfit, they discharged.

Apart from this consideration, the court also went into each man's claim to be a genuine conscientious objector, and if it decided that he ought not to have been turned down, it sent him back to the advisory committee, which in very many cases then recognised him as a CO.

It is the objectors whose principles and sincerity have been put to the test and proved their worth who have changed the courts' policy.

As a further result, fewer cases are allowed to go as far as the courts.

Mr. Van Wijk told me that he regarded it an important part of his responsibility to find out the facts and to present them. "When there are really sincere cases, everyone is very glad to see such men," he said.

At a recent court-martial in The Hague, eight young men who had claimed exemption early last year—long before Suez or Budapest—found great difficulty in speaking for themselves.

A ninth, having been thrown on his own resources when he was only eight, had developed a spiritual force that enabled him to convince the court immediately.

The results of these cases show the new pattern of the courts' treatment of COs. Only two men received full prison sentences; three rejected claims to exemption were revised; and two had fresh medical examinations.

He stated that "These court martials are an example for courts throughout the world. I detest military laws and systems, but within the framework of the existing laws in this miserable and poisoned world, these courts do justice."

## St. Christopher School

### LETCHWORTH

A school community of some 340 boys and girls (between 5 and 18 years) and 90 adults practising education on sane and successful modern lines. Applications now being considered for vacancies next year.

**The disarmament talks**

THERE was a gleam of hope in the closing week of June but again the sky has been darkened with the opacity of negotiation contradicted by incorrigible distrust and the desire to get an advantage. The international disarmament talks have assumed the familiar shape of talks with Jinnah. Whatever you accept is a basis for further conditions and not a thing to be closed into a pact. Russia's offers have all gone to waste in this same way. Each time when the world's hope is raised reading a Soviet proposal, the reaction is a further condition that strangles the hope. One is sorry to say this, as Indian leaders were sorry to say it when Jinnah was alive.

And if it is true that on behalf of his government Mr. Stassen has stated in the Disarmament Committee that the USA will never agree to a total ban on nuclear weapons even if other powers agree to it, then it is a turning point in the history of America's moral influence in the world. From now on America will be known to stand for the most cowardly weapons of war that mankind ever invented even when her opponent is willing to forego them. Of what use are any conditions invented to cover this disgrace, when it is well-known that nuclear weapons can be effective only if used in anticipation and can never await the enemy's attack? To refuse to give them up means a readiness to use them in advance on some pretext or other, to examine the justification of which no time will be given to anyone else.

We have it now clear on the record that USSR has declared her eagerness to agree to a ban on all atomic and hydrogen bombs and other masked weapons evolved out of nuclear power, whereas USA has it seems finally refused to accept any such international ban. That is, if it is true that Mr. Stassen has declared his Government's policy as now reported. If it is true, it is a challenge to all anti-nuclear weapon nations which they must take up with the determination to win. It is civilisation's cause.—C. RAJAGOPALACHARI, Madras, India.

**Brotherhood**

ARE those who claim to form the Peace Forces in this country doing their duty and accepting the opportunity afforded by the number of "coloured" people and those from Europe now in this country?

Are we making personal friends and inviting them into our own organisations on an equal footing of rights and freedom and responsibility? This would then make such organisations theirs as well as our own.

How many "rank and file" trade unionists fail to give such a welcome?

This is a challenge to us.

I am aware such attempts have been made, but has the approach been a good one? Have such attempts failed or been successful?

We rightly oppose the arrogant doctrine of Apartheid, but let us frankly admit that there is an anti-white feeling developing in this country among a section of our coloured friends.

This world is getting smaller and science seems to be getting out of hand, it is therefore a question of either world brotherhood

**Letters to the Editor**

which must become a practical proposal or world destruction.

It should be a principle to unite all peoples of the world. This would be true even if war was not a possibility.

Can we have a conference to discuss ways and means of establishing such a unity?—(Councillor) SIDNEY WARR, Members' Room, Civic Centre, Dagenham.

**Peace Parades**

WE will never steal the thunder of those experts in chicanery, the War Office, by adopting their pipes and bugles (or even, as has been suggested to me recently, by having pacifist uniforms and decorations). All such devices are expressly and successfully aimed at our cheapest and most superficial feelings, and at the deadening of any realistic thinking or humane reaction.

They exist to disguise fact and support sentiment. I can think of no worse basis for a campaign of non-violent resistance, and for the considered self-sacrifice this might entail.

Martial music (if it deserves the name) acts solely on the emotions, crushing self-discipline in favour of herd-obedience. Surely it is mind-quickeners and heart-wakeners we need, not blood-rousers?

I feel that 500 voluntary listeners on Tower Hill, for all that 499 of them drift away to read *The Cruel Sea*, are nearer to a change of view than 5,000 spectators who accept leaflets as the price for a "bit of a show."—JON WYNNE-TYSON, 9 St. Anne's Close, Highgate West Hill, London, N.6.

**State and NVR**

O LIVER Caldecott says that Commander King-Hall's proposal for a Royal Commission to study the subject of non-violent resistance, "is not addressed to us and is not designed to serve our purposes".

I would dispute this. If we pacifists do not take up the idea I do not know who will, and why should we not take it up?

It may not be a perfect idea but it is a good one and at least it is a starting point, a bridge maybe, between the pacifists and non-pacifist positions.

Must we refuse to co-operate with someone who has not provided us with a perfect plan of reconciliation all at once? If we accept non-violence instead of violence as a first step then the "overcoming evil with good" of which our Lord spoke will follow.

I sincerely hope Sir Stephen will get his Commission, Royal or otherwise, and I hope we will all do all we can to back him up.—(Mrs.) MABEL BAKER, Apple Cottage, Button End, Harston, Cambs.

**Non-violence and fear**

THERE are dangers in the attitude of mind expressed by Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall. I am the first to welcome the sanity which loads every line of his newsletter in which he advocates the investigation of the possibility of protecting Britain non-violently.

It is a first-rate analysis of the utter uselessness of violence in the nuclear age.

But it will be foolhardy to imagine that non-violence can be embraced on the grounds of political expediency, and lived by those who are afraid of their enemies.

Love is not an alternative means of protecting ourselves: it is a means of redeeming those who seek to attack us.

Christ was not concerned to save himself: he was concerned to save his enemies—that is where love led him.

Let us seize this moment when men are recognising the futility of war and hate, to press home to them the truth that only love is constructive power.

The world will not be saved by those who feed the hungry for political expediency, nor by those who try non-violence out of fear.

Its salvation lies instead in those who feed men because they are hungry, and love their enemies because they are their brothers.

This is the precious truth which pacifists have preserved for centuries. Let us treasure it yet.—FRED S. MOORHOUSE, 29 Great James St., London, W.C.1.

**Dissenting democratically**

R ECENTLY I wrote to Mr. Macmillan, Mr. Sandys, Mr. Gaitskell, the Archbishop of Canterbury and my MP concerning the British foreign "policy" of developing the great deterrent.

Here is what I received: no reply from Mr. Macmillan or Mr. Sandys; a formal acknowledgement of the receipt of my letter from Mr. Gaitskell's secretary; a circular letter from my MP answering positions on the H-bomb other than the one I had stated; and a printed form of acknowledgement from the Archbishop's Chaplain stating that "consideration will be given to this" (by whom?).

In many ways I welcome Don Phillips' old suggestion (PN, May 17) that mass letter-writing should be co-ordinated, but haven't we got to consider a little further how to dissent in a democracy?—ROBERT HILL, London, W.

**From an old'un**

THERE will be many COs, who like myself, will be thankful for the witness of Ted Rasey.

Most Christian pacifists will realise they must try to convert their own ministers and I expect socialist pacifists realise they must attempt to convert their leaders(?)

All good wishes to those who follow the dictates of their own convictions. I hope Ted will not accept conditional exemption.—FRED J. MURFIN, Friends' House, Church Hill, London, N.21.

*The writer was one of a group of British conscientious objectors sentenced to death in World War I for refusing military service. After the reading out of the death sentence there was a long pause and the COs were then told that the sentence had been commuted to ten years' penal servitude.*

**Tribunals**

I WAS heartened to read Esme Wynne-Tyson's practical suggestion for turning the tables on the Conscientious Objectors' tribunals. Certainly members of these courts should be bombarded in every way, not only directly and individually but through the local and national press, through Parliament and by every other means possible—in the spirit and manner of the suffragettes, perhaps—until the fierce light of publicity lights up their dark little inquisition chambers.

That voteless youths should be conscripted to train to be legalised slaughterers and then, when they would object on ethical, religious or political grounds, that they should be badgered by professional arguers, is one of the ugliest features in our life.

The vindictiveness of many of the middle-aged and elderly members of these tribunals is sometimes almost sadistic, and when they maintain that they are doing good work, I find it one of the most unpleasant forms of hypocrisy in a cruel and hypocritical world.

I am sure that some who serve on these tribunals may honestly try to interpret the law fairly, though the tendency is for them to favour those whose religious beliefs puts them in the category of small-movement cranks, to the exclusion of those whose ethical objection takes a political form and

who could be "dangerous" if they were allowed to get away with their ideas.—ADRIAN BRUNEL, First House, Bulstrode Way, Gerrards Cross, Bucks.

**For the puzzled voter**

I N "In Perspective", May 31, appears the following comment on the Liberal Party "What is needed is a policy that can be clearly recognised by the puzzled voter as seeking the reversal of the increasing tendency to subordinate the individual to centralised power".

Evidently the writer of that paragraph is not aware that this policy is already before the electors in the shape of the pacifist political party—The Fellowship Party. We renounce war and the Liberal Party do not.

The Liberal Party has had its chance and muffed it.—A. LEAPER, N. England Organiser, Fellowship Party, 22 Barrington Avenue, Hull.

**Deterrents?**

● While America possessed the A-bomb we fought a long and bitter war in Korea and when both America and Russia were in possession of the H-bomb—

- a. Israel attacked Egypt.
- b. Great Britain and France invaded Egypt.
- c. Russia raped Hungary.

These incidents clearly prove that up to now the H-bomb has not been a deterrent.

The Government and the people must now face up to the realities of the situation. Nothing else will do.—W. E. BRAY, Huddersfield.

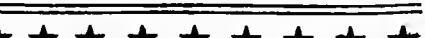
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Stanley Sweet, BSc (Econ.)—Head of Department of Economics, Hull College of Commerce  
Richard Ullmann, Dr. Phil—Part-time Lecturer, Woodbrooke College, Birmingham

Illustrated Brochure from:

**THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION**  
**29 GREAT JAMES STREET, LONDON, W.C.1**

# DIARY

As this is a free service we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Mon. a.m.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

Saturday, July 20

HASTINGS : 2.30 p.m.; Tinkers Dell, Crowhurst Lane, Battle. Garden Party. Minnie Pallister, PPU.

Thursday, July 25

LEYTONSTONE : 8 p.m.; Friends Meeting House, Bush Road (near Green Man). Group Discussion. PPU and FoR.

Friday, July 26

BOWES PARK, LONDON, N.13 : 8 p.m. Bowes Park Methodist Church, Bowes Rd., N.13. Conversation House, "Pacifists and the Church." Methodist Peace Fellowship.

Saturday, July 27

LONDON, S.W.19 : 2-6.30 p.m.; Garden Party at Lincoln House, 51 Parkside, Wimbledon Common. Opened 3 p.m. by H.E. The High Commissioner for India, Mrs. Vilaya Lakshmi Pandit. "Racial Unity."

Monday, July 29

BIRMINGHAM : 8 p.m.; 221 Vicarage Rd., Kings Heath. Kings Heath and Cotteridge Group PPU. Monthly meeting. Anyone welcome.

Thursday, August 1

LEYTONSTONE : 8 p.m.; Friends Meeting House, Bush Road (near Green Man). Discussion, "Unilateral Disarmament." PPU and FoR.

Sunday, August 4

PLYMOUTH : 3 p.m.; Swarthmore Settlement, Mutley Plain. Group Meeting. Visitors holidaying in the West Country welcome. PPU.

Monday, August 5-Saturday, August 10

LLANGEFNI, Anglesey, N. Wales. Visit the Peace Tent at the National Eisteddfod. Peace News on sale; helpers welcomed. FoR.

August 10-17

BANGOR, NORTH WALES : Anglican Pacifist Fellowship Summer Conference. Speakers: Vera Brittain, Rev. Ernest Best, Rev. Mark Shirley, etc. PPU members in North Wales welcome to stay or to any sessions.

## Every week!

SATURDAYS

LIVERPOOL : 8 p.m.; Pier Head. Open-air meeting of Liverpool and District Peace Board.

SUNDAYS

HYDE PARK : 6.30 p.m.; Pacifist Youth Action Group. Every Sunday. PYAG.

GLASGOW : 8 p.m.; at Queen's Park Gates. PPU Meeting. Open-air.

SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

LONDON : Weekend Workcamps, cleaning and redecorating the homes of old-age pensioners. IVSP, 72 Lydia Sq., London, N.W.1.

MONDAYS

SHIPLEY : The Shipley Group will resume their weekly meetings in the Labour Party rooms, Westgate Street, on September 2, at 7.30 p.m.

TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER : 1-2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

WEDNESDAYS

KIDBROOK : 8 p.m.; 141 Woolacombe Rd. Talks, plays, discussion, music, radio, etc. Fellowship Party.

THURSDAYS

GLASGOW : 8 p.m.; Corner of Blythswood Street and Sauchiehall Street. Open-air Meeting. Glasgow H-bomb Committee.

LEYTONSTONE : 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Road, E.10 and E.11 Group. PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1 : 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endleigh St. PYAG.

LONDON, W.C.1 : 1.20-1.40 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen Sq., Southampton Row. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by Clergy and laymen of different denominations.

## AID FOR EX-COLONIES

MR. K. A. GBEDEMAH, the Minister responsible for Defence and External Affairs, told the Ghana Parliament recently that one of the main principles that would determine the country's home and foreign policies would be the need to establish creditworthiness for foreign investment. This links up with Dr. Nkrumah's confirmation on arrival in Britain that American businessmen had been given an option until July 18 on entering into financial negotiations covering the £309 million Volta River scheme.

Most "areas of rapid social change" are crying out for capital investment. East Africa, according to Mr. John Profumo, the Under-Secretary for the Colonies, would need during the period 1955-60, about £170 million in external loans to carry out essential projects in line with the recommendations of the Royal Commission on East Africa, and even when re-assessed recently in the light of the difficulties in raising such loans, £118 million would have to be raised on loan, most of which would have to come from Britain.

In Kenya alone, it is estimated that to put into effect a eight-year course in education for all, the cost would be £22 million. Kenya's budget for everything at the

**PREMYSL PITTER reviews a book about some Fifteenth Century heroes of the struggle for the rights of conscience**

## THE CZECH BRETHREN

THE real mission of a historian is not to pile up knowledge of the past but to deduce lessons and draw consequences for the present and the future.

This Peter Brock, Doctor of Philosophy at Oxford University, had in mind when writing "The Political and Social Doctrines of the Unity of Czech Brethren in the 15th and 16th Centuries". (Mouton & Co., The Hague, Netherlands, 47s. 6d.)

It is a solid work of 300 pages of great significance for people concerned with shaping a world society of a better, and more just kind.

### As early Christians

At the commencement of the World Reformation, over a period of 150 years before the time of Luther and Calvin, preachers stood up in the Czech lands—as Bohemia and Moravia-Silesia are called—men who spoke and wrote in the native tongue, challenged the corruption of clergy and nobility, and summoned the people to return to the example of the early Christians.

When they were forbidden to preach in churches they held open-air meetings.

Only with this background is it possible to understand John Hus and the religious and social upheavals which followed. The first stages of the movement which preceded him were not so dramatic; that is why they are often overlooked. Inconspicuous work from heart to heart over half of a century prepared the ground for Hus's stand for the rights of conscience against the power of the corrupt church, for which courageous stand Hus paid with his life at the stake in 1415.

His martyrdom brought powerful new impulses to the religious and social revival in Bohemia and Moravia—a process of cleansing which was not chiefly of a theological character as in other countries, but was mainly concerned with Christian practice.

### War resisters

The followers of Hus however soon split into two camps: those who defended and spread the claims of the Reformation by force of arms—they fought the so-called Hussite wars—and those who declared that the Kingdom of God cannot be gained by unchristian methods. The spiritual leader of the latter group was Peter of Khelchits (Petr Chelcicky) who reminds us of George Fox, the first Quaker, but who lived about 150 years earlier.

His fervent followers gave up their city life which involved them in much compromise, and went to live in a poor valley in Eastern Bohemia, at Kunvald. There they worked with their own hands,

### FROM A CORRESPONDENT

present time is £31-£32 million! Uganda and Tanganyika are also hampered by inadequate funds. (Jamaica's recent request for £8 million towards building roads, bridges, harbours and airports seems modest in comparison with East African needs.)

In view of the great need of financial help, the imaginative proposals of the Labour Party's Executive (Economic Policy for the Colonies—the second pamphlet on Colonial Policy) that 1 per cent of Britain's national income should be devoted to giving economic aid overseas, is to be welcomed. It would mean, presumably, cutting back some other expenditure, should Labour come into power and adopt this useful suggestion. Pacifists would hope that "defence", already being subjected to some trimming because of overgrowth, would be pruned with increasing severity so as to provide room for this promising new introduction.

In the meantime, the Governments of the Territories have to raise money as best they can. To float loans on the London money market, for instance, there needs to be confidence in the Territory seeking help and once again stresses how closely intertwined are political, economic and social progress.

rejecting trade and the bearing of arms. The spirit of the early Christians was revived in their communities, and similar groups of "Brethren"—as they called themselves—soon arose in many other places of Bohemia and Moravia. The movement became, gradually, a powerful cultural force in these lands.

### Into exile

The Thirty-Years' War in the 17th century destroyed all visible fruit of their spirit. Those who would not be converted to the Roman Church had to flee into exile—as many Czechs who cannot accept the demands of modern absolute power by the Communist regime, have done in our day. The most famous of those exiles was John Amos Comenius, the well-known educationalist who was also the last spiritual leader of the "Unity of Czech Brethren".

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Just as Peter of Khelchits told the warring "Hussites" that the Kingdom of God cannot be won by violence, so I am deeply convinced that today only non-violent methods are able to effect the greatest revolution among the nations. It should be our great concern to study those methods.

However non-violent in principle, the Czech Brethren drew clear distinctions: there was no blurring of points of view in their minds—in contradistinction to what I sometimes find with modern pacifists who try to combine contradictory conceptions. In the struggle of the early Czech Brethren there was definiteness; they did not make concessions to the papacy. So we must be clear and uncompromising in our struggle against the modern papacy: the totalitarian State. Bridges should be built between peoples but not between ideologies and their instruments.

### Leaders of the future

When I study the lives of Early Quakers I am always delighted by the definiteness of their views, by their implacability towards all things which are incompatible with the Gospel. Sometimes I have the impression that some of their modern spiritual descendants have become too yielding. People of such adaptability have unfortunately assumed the lead of religious life in Czechoslovakia today—with the support of the Communist government. The real torch-bearers of the Czech Reformation have been silenced, yet it is my deep conviction that they will be the leaders of the future. They have given proof of their spiritual courage during the Nazi occupation, and again do so today by not making concessions to the Communists.

A follower of Christ must always be prepared for new situations. In the most unexpected ones he remains unflinching. He does not make definite plans of future policies. His Master always tells him what to do. Events always outstrip calculations anyway. The only safe and certain basis for conduct is faithfulness to the principles of the Gospel—other endeavours are doomed to failure.

This seems to me to be the solemn lesson which is given to us by Peter Brock's valuable historical survey of a vital epoch in the spiritual history of mankind. His work is well calculated to make English readers acquainted with the original Czech Brethren.

### DIED IN RESCUE ATTEMPT

Edwin Clogg, 70-year-old pacifist of Bleadon, Weston-super-Mare, lost his life last week in an unsuccessful attempt to rescue a drowning child from the River Axe.

With his friend Bert Over, Edwin Clogg ran a Community Fruit Service, distributing their crops free to hospitals and other institutions in the neighbourhood.

## CLASSIFIED Advertisements

TERMS: Cash with order, 3d. per word, min. 2s. 6d. (Box No. 1s. extra). Please don't send stamps in payment, except for odd pence. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

LATEST TIME for copy: Monday morning. Whilst the policy of Peace News is not to restrict any concern or individual from advertising in these columns, it must be noted that we do not necessarily share the views nor the opinions of all our advertisers.

### MEETING

S. PLACE ETHICAL SOC. Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq., W.C.1, Sunday, 11 a.m., July 21. Dr. Henry Neuman (USA), "The Enduring Essence of Ethical Religion," Adm. free. Free copy "Monthly Record" on request.

VINOBA BHAVE, BHODAN. Donald Groom leads week-end residential conference at Redlands College, Bristol, September 6-8. Cost, with full accommodation, £2. Details from Fellowship of Friends of Truth, 8 Fairhaven Road, Bristol 6.

### ACCOMMODATION

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### LITERATURE

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to Friends' Home Service Cttee., Friends' House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1.

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INTRODUCTIONS, friendship or marriage; home and overseas. V.C.C., 34 Honeywell Road, London, S.W.11.

TED RASEY urgently needs typewriter—cheap. Box No. 741.

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### SITUATIONS VACANT

PEACE NEWS OFFICE IS OPEN up to 9 p.m. every Wednesday evening for the sale of books and stationery, and for voluntary help with the despatch of Peace News. Visitors welcomed. (Mon. to Fri. 8.30 a.m. to 5.30 p.m.) 3 Blackstock Rd. (above Fish and Cook, stationers), Finsbury Park (near sta.), N.4.

### Shorthand-typist wanted

PEACE NEWS STAFF. A competent shorthand typist and general office assistant urgently required for the circulation, advertising and business side of Peace News. Adequate wage, three weeks' annual holiday, 1957 holiday arrangements allowed if possible. Please write, The Manager, Peace News Ltd., 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

### SITUATIONS WANTED

ENGINEER'S TURNER, experienced, seeks constructive work, 46, married, family, Methodist Lay Preacher. White, 16 Sunderland Terr., Ulverston, Lancs.

### HOLIDAYS

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## REFLECTIONS ON DEFENCE

Reprints of Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall's "Reflections on Defence" are still obtainable at 15s. per 100, or 2s. a doz., from Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

### Sixth printing

## DR. SCHWEITZER'S H-bomb test appeal

Two-page broadsheet full text of his world appeal to stop the H-bomb tests, reprinted from Peace News. For widest possible distribution now.

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## BISHOP OF MANCHESTER

Navy the previous week "by the underlying assumption that Russia is the enemy.

"I know that not a single person in this House wants war, and yet, of course, we must talk about it, and talk about it in a realistic way."

He did not know how to resolve that dilemma of how to be prepared for, but still not make that threat more real, but thought it should be remembered that "the more we concentrate on the possibility that a thing may happen, the more likely that thing is to happen" and that "we have to be vividly aware of the misinterpretation which words spoken here will have in other countries and particularly in Russia."

### A PLAGUE ON ALL

The Bishop then turned to his main subject. The Defence White Paper, he said, emphasised "the fact that we are facing a new situation—indeed an unparalleled situation . . . Have we really taken the measure of the word 'new'?"

"My belief," he continued, "is that the hydrogen bomb, which is the new factor in the situation, is not just a bigger and better bang. It is not a weapon at all; it is a plague which can afflict generations of people that are going to come after us . . ."

"I believe—and here I may meet with great opposition—that in no circumstances whatsoever would it be right to use this weapon, not even in its 'clean' form."

The H-bomb would devastate "50 square miles of country, and I know of no military target which is 50 square miles in extent. It has been said in this debate that in the last resort surely we should do as we have done in the past and use this ultimate weapon to save ourselves."

"But that is just begging the question. Would it save us? That is the contention of those who believe that we should renounce its use."

This was too much for Viscount de L'Isle, who intervened to ask, "If, before the last war, both Hitler's Germany and the Allies had possessed the hydrogen bomb, would he have advocated our unilaterally disarming ourselves of it?"

"Yes, I would," replied the Bishop firmly. "I do not believe that in a matter like this it would have been right for us to have used it."

"Humanly speaking, it is difficult to see what the ultimate circumstances and result of that decision might have been. But there are powers beyond human powers which look after these things if man follows what is right and what he ultimately believes to be just."

### NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE

Not content, the Bishop continued with a statement with which his hearers agreed and then probed beyond it: "There is a deep human instinct which nerves a man to take human life to defend his hearth and home."

"Suppose he knows in advance that the action which he takes will not defend his hearth and home. Suppose it means, as some would contend, obliteration for both sides? What then?"

"That is a question to which I have not heard an adequate answer given. I have said that I do not think we have yet taken the real measure of the word 'new'."

It was now impossible to plan militarily more than ten months ahead.

"The Defence White Paper says that the overriding consideration in all military planning must be to prevent war rather than to prepare for it. I think we should all agree with that."

"Nevertheless, there is within those words what seems to me to be a hidden contradiction."

"To prevent war involves planning and action far outside the military field; it involves imaginative concentration upon social, economic, psychological and political considerations."

"In other words, defence today is far from being purely a military question."

"The present dangers, I believe, may possibly best be met not in the realm of defence at all."

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● FROM  
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With this ground-work, the Bishop then turned to a possible alternative: "It will be within the knowledge of noble Lords that Sir Stephen King-Hall has publicly raised the general question of the use and utility of non-violent resistance, whether as a substitute for or as a supplement to armed resistance."

"This, among others, is the kind of question that, in my view, requires dispassionate consideration."

He hoped not to be misunderstood. "I am not a pacifist—I never have been, although I respect their position." He was urging "that defence problems should be considered in a much wider sense."

He would have the Government "call into confidential parley persons with experience in many other fields, but, above all, persons with . . . informed imagination, people with insight into the way that human beings act, individually and in the mass."

Turning to his conclusion, the Bishop declared he believed that "such a reconsideration . . . would bring to light now many factors that are at present being ignored."

"And, if it were seen, as I believe it might be seen, that to break out of the vicious circle which has characterised all our disarmament conferences, and seems like characterising the present, we ought to take the limit of risk by renunciation of the use of the hydrogen bomb, I hope we might do so, and willingly risk in the cause of lasting peace as much as, and more than, we have hitherto as a nation been led to risk for success in actual war."

## By Sybil Morrison

### Three false assumptions

I agree that nuclear warfare is inhuman and unthinkable, but as Mr. Macmillan has said, the fact that nuclear weapons exist absolutely prohibits a nuclear war. If they did not exist the nations would be undeterred from making war, and the character of what is called "conventional warfare" is so altered as to be ten times as destructive as the last war. Surely it is better to prevent war altogether by retaining the deterrent?

—Letter from non-pacifist reader, July, 1957.

THE Prime Minister has recently issued through the Conservative Central Office a statement on H-bombs and H-bomb tests, in which he argues, more or less, as my correspondent does, about the deterrent power of the H-bomb.

His statement is very well thought out, very well written and very well reasoned. Based upon the premise that possession of nuclear weapons will deter all sides from engaging in war, and on the quite immoral assumption that it is proper in these circumstances to use such evil means, he makes out a perfectly logical case for manufacturing and testing these weapons.

But logic is merely a matter of correct reasoning, and correct reasoning from a false assumption is necessarily false, and cannot be accepted as conclusive.

Arguing from the premise that without a deterrent there must inevitably be a war more terrible than any past war, it is, of course, logical to conclude that what deters must be retained.

Where all these carefully reasoned excuses and justifications fall down is at the

### Bulganin to hear from British H-test campaigners

A PUBLIC petition to Marshal Bulganin for the stopping of tests and the international banning of the production and use of nuclear weapons has been started in North London by Gerald Petch, of Highgate.

The petition reads: "We, the undersigned, wish to protest against the testing of nuclear weapons by any country."

"We, being British subjects, are doing all we can to persuade our government to stop such tests and to press for international banning of nuclear weapons, and we urge the government of the USSR to do the same; to stop their tests and do all they can for international banning of these weapons—production as well as use."

### New diseases

Over 300 people in Orpington on July 2 heard Dr. Furth of Birkbeck College, (former Professor of Physics at Prague University) present a scientific argument for the abolition of nuclear tests. The tests resulted in mutations which were not limited to the human species, he said. The effect on bacteria, since its life span was so short, would be the production of new strains.

We may therefore expect epidemics of diseases caused by these new forms of bacteria against which humans have no natural defence, and for which vaccines cannot immediately be produced.

A resolution asking for the cessation of the tests, passed with only two dissenting, was sent to the local Conservative MP, the Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary, and to the Secretaries of the Liberal and Labour Parties.

### Equally damnable

Dr. J. R. Clarkson, chief physicist at the Royal South Hants Hospital, Southampton, speaking to a meeting organised by the Southampton Branch of the Association of Engineering and Shipbuilding Draughtsmen and supported by the local Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapons, said that destroying 50,000 people with a bomb that had no radio-active fall-out was equally damnable to killing the same number with a bomb that had.

The Editor of The Draughtsman, Mr. Jim Mortimer, said that in a nuclear war, we would be the losers. For economic reasons we were not in a position to keep pace with the developments in the USA and USSR. Britain was in a good position to take the initiative in banning the tests. In that decision lay the future of everyone.

The National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapon Tests in their July News

point where they can be challenged on their basic assumptions.

There would appear to be three unwarrantable assumptions: the first is that the fear of destroying the human race will ensure that the arsenals of nuclear weapons possessed by the Great Powers will remain unused; the second is that if these weapons did not exist a war would be inevitable; and the third is that the obligation to prevent a war must over-ride all moral principles.

The situation today is unlike any other in the whole history of the world; never before has the possibility of war meant the destruction of life on this earth.

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To hesitate, therefore, is natural, but when there seems to be no light of conscience which says "no" to the immorality of the threat to destroy the human race, it is highly questionable that any one nation could possibly be trusted not to try a quick stroke, on the chance that it would be secret and rapid enough to rule out the retaliation, which must inevitably bring about the holocaust.

Fear may deter for a time, but only conscience will deter permanently.

The second assumption that a war with conventional weapons would be inevitable if nuclear weapons were abandoned is the same as to say that Governments still believe that there are some things that can be settled by means of war. If this is so it is pertinent to ask, which Government it is that wants to settle something by means of war, and what do they want to settle?

Since it is clear from two world wars that even victory is a hollow triumph if its only result is to turn allies into enemies and sow the seeds, for another war, it is madness, if nothing worse, for responsible people to encourage any belief in the efficacy of war rather than negotiation.

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The third assumption is by far the most important, in that it postulates a belief that few people would accept in their personal lives; that is, that it is necessary to rely upon evil means to bring about something believed to be good.

Even if it could be proved (which, plainly it cannot be) that possession of these inhuman and monstrous weapons would undoubtedly prevent a war, it would still be completely wrong to rely upon so evil a thing as a means towards an end.

If there is no vision of anything but tension and fear extended through decades, perpetuated through centuries, then obviously the deterrent is nothing but a paltry, puerile, and unprincipled makeshift.

If there is to be a good end; if countries are to live at peace and find a solution to their difficulties through human contact and human kindness; if tension and fear are to give way to amity and trust, then it must be recognised that there will always be the possibility and fear of war until it has been discarded and renounced, not only because it will destroy the world, but because it is in itself essentially an evil thing.

This is not only the logical conclusion, but the moral one.

### PEACE PLEDGE UNION

London Area

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